24 March 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

SUBJECT: Djilas Article

comments as follows:

The views Djilas sets forth about what is happening to Communism as an ideology and as a world movement are not new. The basic analytical ingredient -- that Communist societies come to be dominated by a bureaucratic and reactionary caste -- was first stated in his New Class. In his Times article he applies this analysis to the Communist world movement as a whole. The transformation of the Communist regimes in Yugoslavia, Eastern Europe, and China, and the changes he foresees in the major Communist parties of Western Europe are close to what we have believed and written.

The major forecast he makes with which we have disagreed (most recently in NIE 11-69) is that the USSR is likely to fall under the control of the military bureaucracy. At the present juncture, we believe that whatever processes of change develop in the Soviet system, and we think they will be slow, will be focussed in the Party institution itself. The military men are unlikely to think themselves capable of running so elaborate a system, and the traditional prejudice against "Bonapartism" is likely to remain strong in the CPSU.

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